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Depictive secondary predicates in Turkish¹

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Abstract

This paper provides an overview of depictive secondary predicates within the Turkish language, particularly surrounding the small clause phenomenon. These constructions function as adjuncts in the matrix clause. However, it may be difficult to distinguish between depictives and adverbial adjuncts in Turkish because of their morphosyntactic shape. Primarily, I will address the distinction between depictives and adverbial adjuncts based on studies founded by Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004) and Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt (2006) based on a description of the depictive secondary predicates in Turkish. Furthermore, I will specifically focus on the adjectivals as a depictive secondary predicate. These establish a predicative relationship with their controllers, which are the subject or object of the main clause. In this context, I will also analyze this predicative relationship at a semantical, syntactical and morphosyntactical level. I will then analyze the difficulties faced when referring to these structures as constituents in an analysis of the complex sentence as a whole.

Keywords: small clause; secondary predication; depictive predicate; depictive; adverbial; Turkish.

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1. Introduction

In syntactic theory, small clauses are rather common in many languages in the world, especially in Indo-European languages. Several examples are as follows: Eng. Jane drinks [coffee cold]; Ger. Jane trinkt [den Kaffee kalt]. These clause types differ from other clause types, they don't have any inflectional element as finite clauses and also don't show clear evidence of a constituent status. However, they contain a semantic predication relation between subject and predicate. For this reason, Stowell defined small clauses as the black holes of syntactic theory (1995: 271). According to him, the most debated topic is whether or not they exist. Since the subject of this study is composed of small clauses in Turkish, this debate has become more sophisticated. There is no detailed study on the structures of small clauses in Turkish. Moreover, the secondary predicates, a small clause type, has been researched in some other Turkic languages such as Kazakh, Uyghur and South Siberian Turkic, but not in Turkish (Nevskaya, 2008, 2010, 2014; Memtimin and Nevskaya, 2012; Nevskaya and Tazhibaeva, 2012; Ebata, 2013). There have been certain sporadic papers of small clause types in Turkish (Özsoy, 2001; Schroeder, 2000; Kuram, 2008). Özsoy's paper is based on the structural case phenomenon of the government and binding, in Chomsky (1993, 1995) and the examples that were constructed with the main predicate, *san-* 'assume':

(1) Herkes [ben-i Ankara-ya git-ti-m] sanıyor.
 Everyone I-ACC Ankara-DAT go-PST.1SG
 'It seems everyone considered me (to have) gone to Ankara.'

Özsoy (2001) has associated the embedded predicates with small clauses as above and also tried to analyze those with exceptional case marking and raising. However, small clauses are usually defined as clauses that don't have any tense morphemes. Therefore the embedded predications having tense morphemes will be excluded from this study.

Schroeder (2000) has indicated the typologic similarities and differences of this grammatical element, secondary predicate, between German and Turkish. According to this, there are two types of predicate relations: depictive and resultative secondary predication. He has stated that there are hardly ever any resultative predicates in Turkish:

(2) Eve *yorgun* geldi. home-DAT tired come-PST.3SG 'S/he came home tired.'

In (2), she was tired when the event of coming. The adjective, *yorgun* 'tired,' establishes a predicative relationship with the subject.

Kuram (2008) qualifies locatives as small clause predicates. His paper is related to locative types in Turkish. One of these types, *internal modifier*, is actually the pre-/postpositional pred-

icate of the small clause: *Aşçı tavuğu fırında pişirdi* 'The cook cooked the chicken in the oven.' The locative phrase *fırında* incorporates into the SC-head to theta-mark its argument and/or satisfy the strong V-feature of the SC.

Recently, the notion of small clause has been actually applied to many different constructs, e.g. double objects constructions, VP shells, possessive DPs etc. This is mainly due to the tendency to analyze every clause as containing a basic lexical nucleus, where all the predicative relations are realized (Lenci, 1996: 121).

The aim of this paper is to analyze depictive secondary predicates, which are considered to be a small clause type here in Turkish. After the fundamental properties are described, Turkish data on depictive secondary predicates will be presented.

2. Small clause phenomenon

The term 'small clause' refers to a clause which doesn't carry any tense morpheme, but contains a subject-predicate relation. For instance:

(3) I considered [Mandy a genius].

In (3), [Mandy a genius] is a small clause. There is a subject-predicate relation between *Mandy* and a *genius*. This small clause structure can be assumed to correspond to *Mandy is a genius*.

Linguists have analyzed the structure of small clauses in different ways. There have been two opposite views on the structure of small clauses: the small clause theory and the predication theory.

- 1. The small clause theory: In this theory, small clauses can be regarded as a syntactic constituent (Chomsky, 1982, 1986; Stowell, 1981, 1983; Contreras, 1987; Kitagawa, 1985; Aarts, 1992; a.o.).
- 2. The predication theory: Small clauses don't exist, and these constructions don't form a syntactic constituent (Williams, 1983; Schein, 1995; a.o.).

The theorists who accept the small clause theory have made different proposals about the category of small clauses. Since this paper isn't directly related to the small clause theory, not all theories addressing this topic will be described; only Chomsky's theory will be touched upon briefly here.

We should first mention the projection principle proposed by Chomsky. The projection principle is a stipulation, according to which representations at each level (i.e., LF and D- and Sstructure) are projected from the lexicon in such a way as to observe the subcategorization properties of lexical items (Chomsky, 1982: 29). According to him, subcategorization properties of lexical items must be satisfied at LF (= logical form). If this condition is violated, the sentence is simply not well-formed. For example:

- (4) I consider John intelligent.
- (5) I [$_{VP}$ consider [$_{NP}^2$ John] [$_{AP}$ intelligent]].

At the level of LF-representation, *consider* takes only a clausal complement, but in the structure of (5) it has an NP object that doesn't appear in the LF-representation. For this reason, the analysis of (5) is excluded by the projection principle (Chomsky, 1982: 32-33).

The difference in structure between these two proposals of small clause and predication is exemplified in (6):

(6) a. I thought [_{sc} the parade very attractive]. => Small clause structure b. I thought [_{NP} the parade] [_{AP} very attractive]. => Predication structure

The projection principle is closely related to the *theta criterion*, and it was further developed in Chomsky (1986). He dealt with small clause structures in terms of *s-selection* (= semantic selection). For example, such small clause structures as:

- (7) We held [$_{\alpha}$ John responsible].
- (8) We made [$_{\alpha}$ John leave].
- (9) We consider [$_{\alpha}$ John intelligent].

"The main verbs appear to s-select a proposition so that α should be some clause-like element. The verbs do not s-select the subject of α (John is not held, made, considered, in these examples) [...]. There also appears to be a close relation between the main verb and the predicate of the phrase α " (Chomsky, 1986: 91).

Furthermore, constructions with copular verbs, raising verbs, ECM verbs, resultatives, depictives, causatives, perception verbs and double object verbs have been regarded as small clauses. Citko (2011: 749) listed representative examples of these constructions that have been claimed to involve small clauses as follows:

- (10) a. Mary is [smart]. => copular constructions
 - b. Mary seems [smart]. => raising verbs
 - c. I consider [Mary smart]. => ECM verbs
 - d. Mary pushed [the door open]. => resultatives

² Since it was incorrectly written as *VP* in Chomsky (1982), the error was corrected here.

e. Mary ate [the cookie raw]. => depictives
f. Mary made [John leave]. => causatives
g. Mary heard [John leave]. => perception verbs
h. There is [a cat in the garden]. => existential sentences
i. Mary gave [John a book]. => double object verbs
j. Mary turned [the TV off]. => verb particle constructions

She also indicates that in all of them the bracketed small clause consists of the subject and the predicate, which could be nominal, adjectival, prepositional or verbal. In this paper, the question is not whether these constructions are small clauses or their analyzes are correct for all of them. My goal is to deal only with depictive secondary predicates in Turkish as a small clause type. However, primarily, I would like to draw attention to the problem of referring to these structures as constituents in Turkish.

2.1. Small clauses as constituents

Although the structure of small clauses hasn't been thoroughly analyzed as a clause type in Turkish, small clauses have attracted some Turcologists' attention as to how they would be morphologically referred to in sentence analysis. Each one of them has referred to small clauses with different terms, so the reference with respect to morphology will be significant to look over the different terms. For instance, Erkman-Akerson and Özil (1998: 84) claim that these constructions are noun complements because they emphasize a characteristic of the subject or direct object in the sentence: *Başbakan avukatları, bakan, yaptı* "The prime minister has appointed lawyers as ministers." Koç (1999: 182) regards them as an adverbial complement in his paper in which he mentions complex sentences with the main predicate which is *sanmak* 'consider': *Seni, yorgun, sanıyorum* "I consider you tired." Zaman (2000: 124) states that these structures, which are located immediately before the predicate, are object complement or object attributes: *Onları, herkes özgür, zanneder* "Everyone thinks they are free." On the other hand, Doğan (2015: 935) identifies these constructions as including a small clause, and claims that these small clauses function as a verb modifier in the sentence.

At first glance, small clause structures appear to be rather similar to adverbials within the matrix sentence. However, adverbs generally modify a verb or predicate. In this structures referred to, they describe the state of the subject or object, not the predicate of the matrix sentence:

(11)	Senin sonunu _i		<i>iyi</i> _i görmüyorum.	
	you-GEN	end-POSS.2SG-ACC	good	find-NEG-IPFV-1SG
	'I don't find your end good.'			

In (11), *iyi* 'good' doesn't modify the main verb, but rather it modifies the subject of the small clause, *senin sonun* 'your end.' Besides, the subject of the small clause has risen to the direct object position of the matrix clause here.

Direct objects are classified into two main groups: specific and non-specific direct objects. Turkish and some other languages make a morphological distinction, such that the accusative morphology is present for specific direct object, but is absent when the direct object is non-specific (see Kornfilt, 1984). Rapaport (1995: 159) claims that only the specific objects function as a true argument of the verb, whereas the non-specific objects function as a verb modifier. Therefore, in (11), *senin sonunu* 'your end' is a specific direct object of the matrix clause as an argument, and it has a predicative relationship with *iyi* 'good.' Namely, this small clause structure can be interpreted as *senin sonun iyi* 'your end is good,' and it is dependent on the matrix clause as well.

3. Secondary predication

A secondary predicate is an expression which adds information about the subject or the object of a sentence. It is not the main predicate of clause. Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) address the essential characteristics of a secondary predicate construction. Basically, a single clause contains two predicative constituents, which don't form a complex predicate, and one of them depends on the other one with respect to tense. For instance,

(12) George, left the party $[angry_i]$

In (12), *left* is a finite verb while *angry* is an adjectival predicate which syntactically depends on *left*. Moreover, *angry* isn't a complement of *left*, and also it isn't an obligatory element. However, it is obligatorily controlled by the subject, *George*, of the primary predicate. The subject, *George*, is a shared argument of both predicates. More specifically, the secondary predicate doesn't have an overt subject.

Washio (1999) describes the secondary predication in relation to the primary predication. In primary predication, the predication relation holds between the grammatical subject and the predicate. For instance, in *Jean cooked the chicken*, the predicate *cook the chicken* is predicated of the grammatical subject *Jean*. Here, the event *cooking* occurs at a time before the speech point. Washio denotes this time as τ . When a sentence contains another predication which is the secondary predication, the predication relation holds between the grammatical subject or object. Thus in *Jean cooked the chicken hot*, the secondary predicate *hot* may be associated either with *Jean* or *the chicken*. Washio also denotes the time at which secondary predication holds as *t*. Accordingly, if the time of primary predication, *c*, occurs after the event of primary predication, τ , a resultative interpretation is yielded. Under these interpretations, we can say that secondary predicates are commonly divided into two main groups: depictives and resultatives:

- (13) Sue left [angry]. => depictive
- (14) Sue wiped the table [clean]. => resultative

In (13), Sue was angry throughout the event of leaving. There is no clue as to whether she was angry before or after she left, but we know that Sue left and she was angry when she went. In contrast, in (14), the table became clean as a result of Sue's wiping.

Since similar structures are found in Turkish, too, the secondary predicates in Turkish will be described in the next part of this paper.

3.1. Secondary predicates in Turkish

Secondary predicates are adjunct constructions with regard to clause structure because they don't form a constituent with their controller, subject or object. Also in Turkish, they may often behave as an adverbial adjunct morphosyntactically. For example:

- (15) Ali et-i_i çiğ çiğ_i ye-di.
 Ali meat-ACC raw eat-PST.3SG
 'Ali ate meat raw.'
- (16) Çamaşırlar-ı, tertemiz, yıka-dı-m.
 clothes-PL-ACC clean wash-PST.1SG
 'I washed the clothes clean.'

In (15) and (16), respectively, *çiğ çiğ* is a 'depictive' and *tertemiz* is a 'resultative' and they also function as adverbial adjuncts here. Adjuncts are non-obligatory elements. Even if they are omitted, the sentences still are grammatical. However, there are some restrictions which will be mentioned in terms of predicative relationship in Turkish.

The focus of this paper will be depictive secondary predicates in Turkish in the proceeding. More specifically, adjectivals as a depictive will be fundamentally covered because it is indisputable fact that these constructions are depictive constituting a predicative relation with its controller³. Resultative secondary predications are excluded as well from this paper because they deserve a more detailed study on their own.

³ In some researches on Turkic languages, depictive secondary predicates have been classified in terms of their morphological shape like compound adjectives, nominals with dative, locative and instrumental case, adjectival reduplications and ideophones etc. See Boeder and Schroeder (1998), Schroeder (2000, 2008), Nevskaya (2008) and Memtimin and Nevskaya (2012) for relevant classification.

4. Depictive secondary predicates

Depictive secondary predicates express the state of one participant of the event, which is the 'controller', while the process or action is carried out (Schroeder, 2008: 339):

(17) She_i closed the door $naked_i$.

The doer 'she' and the depictive 'naked' are associated and co-indexed with each other and also the subject 'she' is the controller of 'naked.' Since the event of secondary predication and main predication are simultaneous, the depictive interpretation actualizes. Moreover, the secondary predicate 'naked' describes the doer physically. Nevskaya (2010: 192) and Nevskaya and Tazhibaeva (2012: 332) also point out that depictive predicates often describe physical or mental states of their controllers such as *dead*, *drunk*, *hot* and *cooked* etc.

In Turkish, the depictive is predicated of a subject, or object like in English. In some cases, it may be difficult to distinguish between 'manner adverbials' and 'depictives' in terms of their morphosyntactic shape. Schroeder (2000: 79-82) describes this with the following examples:

- (18)a Çay-ı *çabuk* iç-ti. tea-ACC fast drink-PST.3SG 'S/he drank the tea quickly.'
- (19)a Çay-ı *keyifsiz keyifsiz* iç-ti. Tea-ACC unhappy (REDUPL) drink-PST.3SG 'S/he drank the tea unhappy.'

In (18)a, the adverbial *çabuk* establishes a modifier relationship with the main predicate. On the other hand, in (19)a the adverbial *keyifsiz keyifsiz* depicts the subject, not the predicate. More specifically, when these examples are expanded, the following results are obtained:

- (18)b Çayı içti ve bunu yaparken keyifsizdi.'He drank the tea, and he was unhappy while drinking it.'
- (19)b ? Çayı içti ve bunu yaparken çabuk idi.? 'He drank the tea, and he was quick while drinking it.'

As can be seen, while *keyifsiz keyifsiz* can be used as a depictive in (18)b, (19)b doesn't make much sense. Therefore, *keyifsiz keyifsiz* in (18)a has a predicative relationship with the subject, and it can be interpreted as a 'depictive'.

Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) determine seven criteria for a depictive secondary predication which is a clause-level construction:

- i. It contains two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, where the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate.
- ii. The depictive is obligatorily controlled, i.e., there exists a formal relation to one participant of the main predicate.
- iii. The depictive doesn't form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate.
- iv. The depictive is not an argument of the main predicate, i.e., it is not obligatory.
- v. The depictive makes a predication about its controller and doesn't form a low-level constituent with the controller.
- vi. The depictive is non-finite.
- vii. The depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

In some studies, the terms 'participant-oriented expression' and 'event-oriented expression' have been used for the depictive and adverbial, respectively (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann, 2004; Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt, 2006; Kutscher and Genç, 2006, etc.). The first term means semantically depictive and the second one is semantically adverbial. In this paper, the terms of 'depictive' and 'adverbial' are preferred because of their brevity. For instance:

(20)a Sev-diğ-im şarkı-lar-ı, geçen cumartesi *canlı*, dinle-di-m. like-PST.PTCP.1SG song-PL last Saturday live listen-PST.1SG 'I listened to my favorite songs live last Saturday.'

In (20)a, *canlı* 'live' is a participant-oriented expression because it indicates us in what way the songs will be listened on Saturday. More specifically, they will be 'live' in contrast to pre-re-corded tracks. At a semantical level, we can't make an event-oriented interpretation here. Expanding this sentence, we can find out about this semantical relation between the controller and the depictive secondary predicate:

(20)b Sevdiğim şarkıları bu cumartesi dinledim ve o şarkılar canlıydı.

'I listened my favorite songs on Saturday and they were live.'

The next section of this paper explains which constituents can be controllers of the Turkish depictive secondary predicates. Constitutively, the subject and the object are controllers of the secondary predicates in Turkish.

4.1. Subject-controlled depictive secondary predicates

In this type, the subject of the main predicate is also the subject of the secondary predicate, so the subject is the controller of the secondary predicate. Subjects that are common to both

of the predicates are marked with a nominative case in Turkish. Moreover, if the secondary predicate describes the state of the subject, the main verb is usually intransitive:

(21) Yazık, Sedef_i çok genç_i öl-dü.
pity, Sedef-NOM very young die-PST.3SG
'What a pity! Sedef died very young.'

In (21), *Sedef* is a participant⁴, she is the one who dies, so the experiencer subject, *Sedef*, is co-indexed with the depictive, *genç* 'young', and also is the controller of the depictive. This sentence implies that Sedef died and she was young when she died. The events of the main predicate and the secondary predicate have happened simultaneously.

(22) pro, Çok *aşık*, evlen-di-m.very love get marry-PST.1SG'When I got married I was in love.'

The construction in (22) is very typical for Turkish. While it needs a depictive predicate in Turkish, it is expressed in different ways in English like an adverbial clause with a main clause. Namely, *evlendim* 'I got married' is a primary predication, *çok aşıktım* 'I was very in love' is a secondary predication. The secondary predicate describes the state of the subject, *ben* 'I', which is the silent subject (pro), and it is also the controller of the depictive.

(23) Adam_i araba-yı *sarhoş*_i sür-dü ve kaza yap-tı. man-NOM car-ACC drunk drive-PST.3SG and accident make-PST.3SG 'The man drove the car drunk, and made an accident.'

In (23), the man was drunk throughout the event of driving. So, there is a depictive reading here. At the same time, *adam* 'the man', the agent of the verb *sürmek* 'drive,' is co-indexed and associated with the depictive secondary predicate, *sarhoş* 'drunk,' and, in addition, it is the controller of the depictive.

(24)a Seyirci-ler _i	gösteri-yi	ayak-ta _i	alkışla-dı-lar.
audience.PL	show-ACC	foot-LOC	applaud-PST.3PL

(24)b ? The audience applauded the show on foot. 'The audience gave a standing ovation.'

In (24)a, the physical state of affair is expressed by the depictive, *ayakta* 'on foot' holds within the event of the main predicate, *alkışlama* 'applauding.' Morphologically, the depictive isn't an

⁴ A participant role addresses a semantic relation that a constituent has with the main verb in a clause such as *agent, theme, patient* and *experiencer* etc.

adjectival; it is a nominal with the locative case here. The depictive is an optional element in the sentence and functions as a predication of its controller, the subject, *seyirciler* 'audience.' When this example is expanded the following interpretation is obtained: *Seyirciler gösteriyi alkışladılar ve alkışlarken ayaktaydılar* 'The audience applauded the show, and it was standing while it was applauding.' Thus, (24) a bears all the characteristics of the depictive secondary predicates. On the other hand, the same sentence like (24) b seems ill-formed and doesn't make much sense in English.

4.2. Object-controlled depictive secondary predicates

In this type, the direct object of the main predicate functions as the subject of the secondary predicate and is also marked with an accusative case in Turkish. This usually depends on whether the main verb is transitive or intransitive. If the secondary predicate describes the state of the object, the main verb is usually transitive:

(25) Baba-m çorba-sın-ı, hep sıcak, iç-er.
 Father-POSS.1SG soup-POSS.3SG-ACC always hot drink-AOR-3SG
 'My father always drinks his soup hot.'

In (25), the direct object of the main predicate, *çorba* 'soup,' functions as the subject of the secondary predicate, *sıcak* 'hot.' Therefore, we can say that the direct object, *çorba* 'soup' is the controller of the depictive secondary predicate.

(26)	Ben	Didem-i _i	hiç	sarhoş _i	gör-me-dim.
		Didem-ACC	never	drunk	see-NEG-PST.1SG
	'I hav	e never seen			

In (26), the depictive *sarhoş* 'drunk' isn't a modificator of the event of 'see.' It describes the physical state of the direct object of the main predicate 'Didem,' which is the subject of the secondary predicate. Therefore, *Didem* functions as the controller of the depictive secondary predicate *sarhoş* 'drunk.'

(27) Polis çocuğ-u, park-ta baygın, bul-muş.
 Police-NOM child-ACC park-LOC unconscious find-REP.PST.3SG
 'The police found the child unconscious in the park.'

(27) means that when the child was found, he was unconscious. Here, there is an adjectival depictive describing the physical state of its controller, *çocuk* 'child,' which is the direct object of the main predicate. It also functions as the subject of the secondary predicate, so it is co-indexed and associated with the depictive, *baygin* 'unconscious.'

As can be seen, Turkish obeys the criteria mentioned in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004). In the examples, controllers can be interpreted as being in a predicative relationship and they aren't expressed separately as an argument of the depictive.

5. Conclusion

This paper has been about depictive secondary predicates, which are regarded as a kind of small clause construction. At the semantic level, depictive secondary predicates express the state of the event participants, namely, event-oriented participants. Morphologically, they usually consist of a zero-derived or bare adjective, or a reduplicated adjective like (15) in Turkish. Moreover, they may be formed with a case such as locative like (24)a.

It may be convenient to describe these constructions as adverbials in Turkish. However, according to the criteria cross-linguistically proposed in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004), the relevant expressions in Turkish exhibit all the syntactical and semantic characteristics of secondary predications, for instance, behaving as an adjunct, being obligatorily controlled and being in a relationship of predication with its controller etc. Therefore, depictive secondary predicates in Turkish can be quite easily distinguished from the manner adverbials. As can be seen in the examples above, depictives are in the immediate pre-verbal position in Turkish:

- (28) Kadın, otel-den kızgın, ayrıl-dı.
 woman hotel-ABL angry leave-PST-3SG
 'The woman left the hotel angry.'
- (28)a *Kadın_i *kızgın*i otel-den ayrıl-dı.
- (28)b *Otel-den *kızgın*i kadıni ayrıl-dı.

Furthermore, in adjectival forms of secondary predications, if the main verb is intransitive, the depictive secondary predicate is controlled by the subject, and if the main verb is transitive, the depictive secondary predicate is controlled by the object of the main predicate. For example in (28), the depictive, *kızgın* 'angry,' is an adjective and the main verb, *ayrılmak* 'to leave,' is an intransitive verb; so, the depictive can only establish a predicative relationship with the subject, *kadın* 'woman,' in other words, it is controlled by the subject. On the other hand, (29) exemplifies an object-controlled depictive:

(29) Oda-ya gir-diğ-im-de anne-m-i_i *uyanık*_i bul-du-m. room-DAT enter-PST.PTCP-1SG-LOC mother-POSS.1SG-ACC awake find-PST.1SG 'When I entered the room, I found my mother awake.'

In (29), since the main verb, *bulmak* 'to find,' is transitive, the depictive with an adjective, *uyanık* 'awake,' can only constitute a predicative relationship with the object of the main clause, *annem* 'my mother,' is a semantic participant, which is co-indexed with the depictive, is the controller of that adjectival depictive secondary predicate.

This paper doesn't address all the types of depictive secondary predicates in Turkish morphosyntactically. In this paper, I have tried to show that Turkish has a small clause phenomenon and exhibits secondary predicate constructions. In this regard, this study is going to contribute to the literature by encouraging other studies on small clauses or 'resultatives,' which are another type of secondary predicates in Turkish.

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